7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

352 seats at the ends, extends around the walls. This is lined with hard, flat cushions which are upholstered in some very light color—often plain white. Very likely a set of modern, reclining chairs, with stiff case backs and bottoms, will be set formally around a table in the center of the room. Here and there, there will be rather rough wooden stools with soft case seats. At one side, there will be a large rectangular dining table with a cloth or plastic cover. In some houses, fully upholstered modern easy-chairs will be found.

353 The walls are devoid of ornamentation, with one exception which is conspicuous in the houses which have it. This is a concentrated mass of photographs, some yellowed with age, some brand new, of various members of the owner's family, including emigrants who are fondly remembered. Sometimes, among the family photographs, there will also be one or two postcard-sized pictures of saints or members of the Holy Family. However, as far as the writer is aware, there are no houses which have anything resembling a household shrine, and many have no religious symbols whatever.

Especially in the older houses, there are recesses in the walls, often closed with wooden doors. These are used for storage—for example, large jars for the year's supply of olive oil.

[351] Only a close friend of the family will ordinarily be given the opportunity to go from the *maq'ad*, or front section, to the rear. Here are the sleeping quarters of the family, and cooking equipment will be found in one corner also—unless there is an additional room for this purpose, as is the case with several essentially one-room houses.

352 Every house is wholly or mostly equipped with metal bedsteads, springs,
513 mattresses, pillows, pillowcases, sheets and blankets, all of European manufacture and/or design. Sixty years ago everyone slept on the floor on sheepskins wrapped in blankets or quilted puffs. Only suggestions of this practice are now to be found in a few houses.

354 The traditional type of stove was a masonry oven with apertures in the top, in which the chief fuel was brushwood. Very few such stoves are now used. Rather, nearly every house is equipped with at least one "Primus" stove, a small, portable appliance, made in Sweden, which operates on the principle of the ignition of kerosene which has been vaporized by heat and pressure. Basic instructions for its operation are etched on the side of its brass fuel tank in Arabic, Hindustani, and Chinese, and we might say that this is an item in a process which might be called "deliberate diffusion." It is inexpensive to buy and operate and is quite efficient except for the fact that there is only one burner per stove.

415 A minimal assortment of cooking utensils would include: a teakettle; a set, in graduated sizes, of long-handled metal beakers (for boiling coffee); a cylindrical brass coffee grinder; pots, bowls, and platters of various sizes and shapes, made of metal or pottery; and a stone mortar and pestle. Hardware would include a ladle, knives of various sizes, and long-handled serving forks and spoons. Food is served

on china platters and/or round plates. If necessary, everyone is provided with knives, forks, and spoons, but napkins are not ordinarily used. Cups and demitasses are provided for tea and coffee, respectively. (The only kind of coffee which is consumed in the village is "Turkish" coffee.) Wine is drunk from small glasses. The only acceptable way to drink water, however, is directly from the spouted jug called *ibriq*. This is definitely an acquired skill which children are taught as early as possible. For this purpose, a small *ibriq*, usually made of glass, is provided. With the exception of the coffee grinder, usually the coffee brazier, the pestle and mortar, and the *ibriq*, all these items are of European manufacture and/or design.

Although kerosene heaters are readily available in Beirut, the standard means of heating houses in the village is by small, round, charcoal braziers which sit low on the floor. If a social group in one room of a multi-room house moves to another, the brazier around which the group has sat will be picked up and carried along. The idea, in other words, is to keep the people warm rather than to heat the room. The European and American kerosene heaters are undoubtedly more efficient, but they are a great deal more expensive to buy and operate. Besides, the charcoal braziers can also be used for boiling coffee and heating meat on skewers.

Oil lamps, with glass chimneys, of European manufacture and of the same type which is still sometimes seen in rural areas of the United States, are used in many houses. Everyone keeps a supply of candles in case of emergency. But the most widely used type of illumination is provided by a kerosene pressure lantern. This gives a very strong light and is frequently suspended on an iron rod from the ceiling of the room.

Nearly every individual who is adolescent or older has a flashlight and uses it. On moonless or cloudy nights, the village is enveloped in pitch blackness, with only a few undiffused lights showing here and there from doors or windows.

Floor-covering is provided either by small "oriental" rugs or straw mats. Such ornamental or luxury items as elaborately inlaid boxes and furniture, engraved brass or copper trays, and painted pottery, are rare.

DIET

The villagers regularly eat three meals a day, of which the evening meal is ordinarily the largest, except on Sundays. Breakfast is likely to include the leftovers from the preceding evening meal. Bread is eaten at, and coffee served after, every meal. Lunch tends to be small, and the family is apt to be incomplete at lunch, for men or boys working in the fields usually take their lunches with them—a couple of loaves of bread, some olives, and perhaps an onion or cucumber or two, and a jug of water.

The villagers say that in summer they have more to eat than in winter. In effect, what they mean is that fresh fruits and vegetables supplement the year-

monthly (20 %) or yearly (10 %). Where the owner and those not paying rent are subtracted, we find relatively few (5 %) who have other contract terms.

7.14 Location of kitchen facilities by privacy, Table 107

In investigating the adequacies of households in Beirut, it was found that nine-tenths of the enumerated households had private kitchen facilities in the house. Cooking outside the house was principally for one-room shacks.

7.15 Location of toilet facilities in household, Table 108

Toilet facilities in the buildings were found in over ninety percent of the sample. Of these, almost nine-tenths are private toilets. Arab types are found overwhelmingly.

7.16 Source of water in household, Table 109

Water, too, is piped into the overwhelming majority of houses (93 %) making relatively few who were forced to obtain water from outdoor cisterns or from more fortunate neighbors. In some cases, such as the agglomeration of tin shacks, a city faucet is the only source of water.

7.17 Type of lighting in household, Table 110

Lighting is by electricity in over nine-tenths of the households in the sample. Characteristically, electrical fixtures are ceiling lights suspended by cords. Lamps are used much less than in western cities, even where wall plugs are available. Less electricity is delivered to households due to a shortage of generating capacity. Almost all of the remaining households use oil lamps.

7.18 Type of heating in household, Table 111

Charcoal burners are the sole means of heat in over half of the houses (57 %). One-fifth of the houses have no means of heat; this is not surprising considering the relatively mild cli-

rents. Central heating is found in only a fraction (1 %) of the buildings. It is demanded only by non-Lebanese. Beirutis find it too warm for the type of clothing that they wear indoors and out in the winter.

7.19 **Adequacy of living room furniture. Table 112**

In general, the amount of furniture was judged adequate (80 %). Adequacy was defined as sufficient furniture in evidence in the

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Table 110
Type of Lighting in Households

Kind of lighting	Number	Percent	¶
Total	1835	100.00	
Natural only	13	0.68	
Electricity	1664	91.18	
Candles	1	0.05	
All	148	8.11	

Table 111
Type of Heating in Households

Type of heating	Number	Percent	¶
Total	1980 *	100.00	

* Total is larger because some families have more than one source of heating

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